

Reprinted from *The Journal of the Madras University*, Vol. XIV, No. 2.

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அமரர். ஆர். திருமலை. இ. ஆ. ப.

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R. TIRUMALAI I.A.S. (Late)

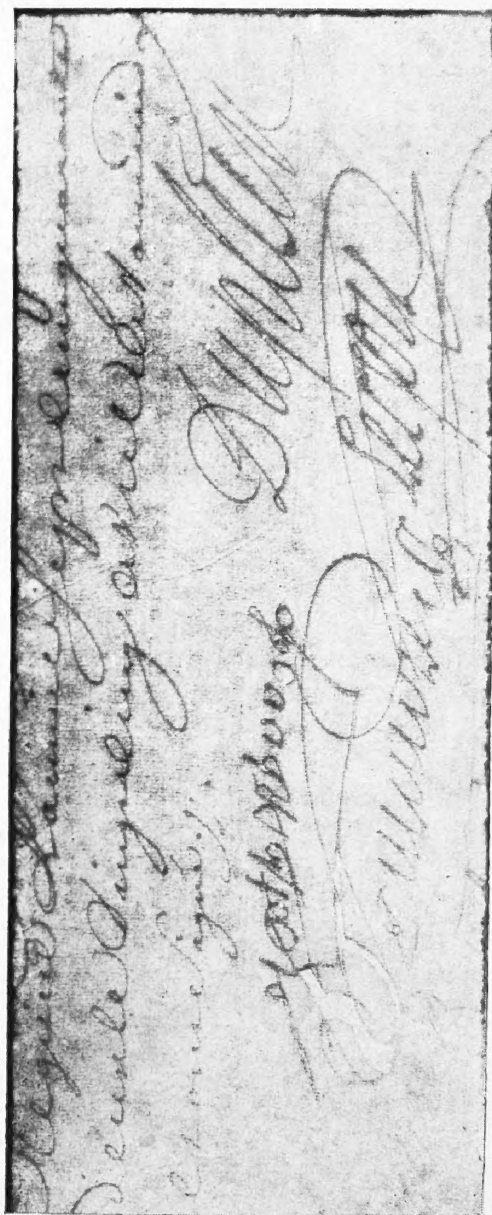
NEW PAGES FROM ANANDA RANGA PILLAI'S DIARY

By

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Ammonia &c. &c.

महाराष्ट्र राज्य

李鴻章

உயர் தரமான

Postcard

இந்த நூலை எழுதியவர்
சென்னை நகரில் புகழ்பெற்ற
புத்திரன் ஒருவரேயாகும்
இவருடைய பெயர்
சென்னை நகரில் புகழ்பெற்ற
புத்திரன் ஒருவரேயாகும்
இவருடைய பெயர்

INTRODUCTION

The new passages from the diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai which I am presenting below in English were discovered in three instalments. My friend Prof. G. Jouveau-Dubreuil of Pondicherry first got, with the assistance of M. Filliozat of Paris, from the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, a photographic copy of the diary for December 19, 1750 and sent it to me (December 1937) for translation for his use in connection with his work on Dupleix which has been published last year.¹ This entry contained important details bearing on the murder of Nāzīr Jang as may be seen from *Dupleix* p. 255 and No. II in the Texts below. Then, M. Lehureaux of Chandernagor spotted some fresh entries among the mss. preserved in M. Gallois-Montbrun's house and brought them to Madras and placed them in my hands for study and translation in June 1939. Details of the entries discovered on this occasion will be found at pp. 10-11 Appendix C of Indian Historical Records Commission (Report) 1940. Lastly, when I went to Pondicherry in August 1939 and M. Dubreuil took me to examine the mss. in M. Gallois-Montbrun's house, I lighted on an interesting entry regarding Dupleix-Fatteh-abad; but as it happened to be just the thing that M. Dubreuil was then looking for, he thought at first that I was playing a joke and would not believe his ears when I translated the passage for him on the spot. But it was the truth, and on that occasion as on many others this great scholar with an uncanny flair for spotting things, did get something of what he wanted for building up his fascinating theory of Dupleix, the Grand Mogul, that was already taking shape in his prolific mind. A detailed examination of the

1. I do not know why Mr. C. S. Srinivasachari gives the date as December, 16, 1750 in his *Ananda Ranga Pillai*, p. 453; it is the date of the murder of Nāzīr Jang, not of the entry.

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volume revealed the existence of several other entries unknown to the copy used by Prof. Dodwell and his collaborators.²

There has been some discussion about the condition of the mss. and about priority in assessing their importance. But none so far has been in a position to discuss the whole question of the state of the mss. and their pedigree because no one had access to all the copies at once. I am in no better position, but I think I can say that it is extremely doubtful if any part of the original ms. has at all been seen by the translators. The presumption of Price that two of the Madras volumes may be the original seems unlikely, as they differ in no way from the rest of the Montbrun copy. On the other hand, the pages that M. Leheureaux brought to me in June 1939 were written in another hand and on rough country paper, though the ink was faded. They were loose sheets from a book that was apparently once in a very well bound condition. These sheets seem to be the nearest approach to the original ms. if not actually the original. They are now in the custody of M. A. Gallois-Montbrun who has so generously allowed me access to his valuable collection and given me permission to translate and publish these texts.

I may say that the original ms. of the continuation of Ananda Ranga Pillai's diary by Tiruvengadam is in similar rough country paper of larger size; this volume was discovered by M. Cornet of Pondicherry in M. Montbrun's house and placed in the hands of M. G. Jouveau-Dubreuil who forwarded it to me; this continuation is also available in an abridged form, containing selections under particular dates of only the important passages, the unimportant ones being omitted; the copy of selections is in thin foreign paper and the handwriting as well as this paper is common to these volumes and the volumes of the copy of Ananda Ranga Pillai's diary. For a part of Tiruvengadam's diary we have the material for forming a judgment on the method of selection followed; pencil marks on the original clearly mark the passages to be omitted from those to be copied, and the copy corresponds to these indications. I think all

2. These passages are grouped under III below. Except II and III, all the passages were found in the batch of M. Leheureaux. The list, IHRC 1940 contains one date already translated by Dodwell, viz., March 1, 1750. Item 18 there should be July 10, 1756; Item 21 is a letter of Ananda Ranga Pillai having no connection with the diary.

mss. on such thin paper are copies of selections and the two Madras volumes of Ananda Ranga Pillai taken to be the original by Mr. Price are also on such paper.

The language of the diary is very colloquial Tamil with a large admixture of French and Persian words which it is not always easy to identify and interpret. The proper names are often distorted beyond recognition, and I have had the invaluable aid of Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil in their correct restoration; but even his intimate knowledge of the period has not sufficed in some instances which have been indicated by an interrogation mark after the names concerned. He also sent me a photograph of the autograph of Ananda-rangappan as the diarist seems to have called himself together with that of Dupleix which I have great pleasure in publishing here along with a section of the photostat copy from the Ariel ms. of the diary for December 19, 1750.

It will thus be seen that this instalment of the diary is being published as the result of the co-operation of several hands and that Prof. Dubreuil has been throughout its moving spirit. The course of the war which has necessitated his leaving India, I hope only temporarily, and other circumstances which need not be detailed here, have necessitated my departing from the original plan we made of publishing these fragments together with the continuation of Tiruvengadam in a series of volumes similar to those of the published translation. I hope I shall be in a position some time hence to complete the work on the continuation of the diary and publish it in a suitable form.

I shall now offer brief remarks on the passages presented below in *extenso*. They have been put in ten numbered groups for facility of reference and I intend to say a little on each to indicate its place in the diary and its historical importance.

1. The first passage is dated October 1, 1749. There is a long entry under this date in the published diary beginning at Vol. VI, p. 191. The new passage must be taken to constitute the beginning of the day omitted in the selection from which the existing edition has been translated. It contains a long and obscure list of presents of the total value of Rs. 12,493 got ready by Ananda Ranga Pillai in response to Dupleix's order for being presented to Hidāyat Muhi-ud-din Khān, i.e., Muzaffar Jang, who was then on a visit to Pondicherry.

II. There is a long gap in the diary between October 30, 1750 and April 15, 1751 (inclusive). The present passage is the diary for one day in this gap (Vol. vii, p. 424) viz., December 19, 1750. It is historically of great importance as the earliest account we have in the form of an oral report from M. Véry to Dupleix of the murder of Nāzīr Jang and the elevation of Muzaffar Jang in the neighbourhood of Gingee. Dupleix's flag of white silk with the sun in the centre finds mention in this passage and M. Jouveau-Dubreuil has given the most complete elucidation of the events recorded here in his *Dupleix* (Pondicherry, March, 1941).

III. The third group is a large bunch of new entries covering fourteen dates between June 30 and October 7, 1751 (inclusive). Only for four of these dates viz., July 6, 7, and September 12, 15, do we have entries in the already published translation, and for these days the passages now presented must be taken to have been omitted in the selection made for the copy followed in the Madras edition. It may be noted that the omitted passage for September 12, 1751, now recovered, contains the terms of the inscription which Dupleix wanted to be put up on the *Kīristambha* to be erected at Dupleix-Fatteh-abad according to instructions he had issued on August 6th preceding. The entry for August 4, 1751 is important as showing the desperate straits in which Muhammad 'Ali found himself at the time and the negotiations he maintained with Dupleix. There are also matters of social and administrative interest, and data on the financial embarrassments of the different parties in the tangled conflicts of the time. These must be gathered from the text itself. In one instance, July 7, 1751, Dodwell would have understood Dupleix's motives better than he did (n. 2. p. 20) if he had had before him the entry for the date now presented.

IV. This is a fragment which bears no date. But the entry will fit either November 10, 1751 or November 14, and contains data of interest bearing on the warfare of the time.

V. This group together with the last one comprises entries for some days in the month of November 1751 in which only three days are represented in the published diary, and those days are different from the entries now obtained. It is not my purpose in these observations to write a historical disquisition on the new data brought to light; but I would just say that the passages in this group go some way to mitigate the complaint that Prof. Dodwell made when he

wrote in his introduction to Volume viii: "Ranga Pillai therefore records no details of the event which seems of so great importance in English eyes" (pp. IX-X). We do get some account of the occurrences at Arcot, though, as we see from the entries here and elsewhere, Trichinopoly struck contemporaries as the more important sphere of operations.

VI. Contains entries for five days or possibly six in the first half of January 1752, only one of them January 6 already represented in the published diary, the new portion recording transactions of the day later than those already given. Data on the progress of the war are continued though they become fewer.

VII. A supplementary entry, not very important or illuminating for July 20, 1756 (Vol. X, p. 150).

VIII. This is a very intriguing fragment. It bears two dates at the beginning one January 6, 1744 and the other August 1, 1756, and the entry is quite unlike anything else in the diary—for it gives the stages on the route from Masulipatam to Golconda with many interesting local details.

IX. This is one day's entry for September 23, 1756 containing news from Hyderabad and Arcot.

X. This is a very important and interesting group relating to the close of 1760 and beginning of 1761 not strictly part of Ananda Ranga Pillai's diary, but having a direct bearing on the diary and the transactions recorded in it. For one thing, it shows that the vicissitudes of the diary which ended with the cyclone of 1916 which damaged the Montbrun papers began soon after the death of Ananda Ranga Pillai and the fall of Pondicherry followed by the migration of the family from Pondicherry to Tranquebar. It contains the story of the funeral of Ananda Ranga Pillai and of the migration of his family; it gives some interesting details on the siege of Pondicherry by the English and the terms of its capitulation. Lastly it contains a representation (incomplete) from the citizens of Pondicherry in which the people's estimate of the regimes of different governors of their city is frankly stated. The group bears the quaint title three memoranda (*yādāsts*) :—the first of these is a series of entries under particular dates similar to those for January 10-12,

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1761 at pages 402-408 of Vol. XII and probably from the same hand, the nephew of Ananda Ranga Pillai. The second is a sort of a news letter; it bears date 1761 and is incomplete. The third is a petition, also incomplete, to the General. It bears no date, but judging from the nature of its contents, it seems to have been addressed to the English General in occupation of Pondicherry soon after its surrender.

The documents below follow the order in which they have been reviewed briefly above.

TEXTS

(TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH FROM THE ORIGINAL TAMIL).

I

Śukla, Purattāsi 19, Wednesday, 1749, October 1.¹

When I went to the Governor's house this morning, he asked me to go to the fort and prepare a list of the things he might offer as presents to Hidāyat Muhi-ud-dīn Khān. He also wrote a letter to M. Cornet at Orattand and sent it off. The following are details of all the articles got ready:— Total Rs. 12,493.

(The long list with many obscure entries is omitted)

II

Saturday the 8th Mārgaḷi. Pramodūta year, 19th December 1750²

This day morning I went to the Government house, saw M. Dupleix and paid my respects. He also greeted me cordially and we were engaged in conversation. Then M. Véry³, who had gone from here as Sergeant Major of the army sent against Nāzīr Jang's army, returned and saluted M. Dupleix. When asked by the latter as to what had become of the army, the Major reported as follows :

1. Vol. VI. p. 191, to insert at the beginning of the day.

2. Vol. vii, p. 424.

3. Jacques Véry de Saint-Romain, see Vol. viii, p. 182, n. 2.

"Himmat Bahādūr Khān cut off the head of Nāzīr Jang and mounting it on a spear displayed it to all the army. On seeing this the army fell into disorder and ran helter-skelter. The place itself was filled with tumult and uproar. I hardly know how to describe it." At this juncture, M. Dupleix interrupting the speech of Major Véry asked him as to what had become of Muzaffar Jang, where he was and what he did at the time. M. Véry said in reply, "Nāzīr Jang, before mounting his elephant, brought Muzaffar Jang out of his camp where he had been kept under watch and mounted him on an elephant. He also put two guards with unsheathed swords pointed to his neck, behind him on the elephant. The two guards with drawn swords were the men who counselled Nāzīr Jang to cut off the head of Muzaffar Jang; and Nāzīr Jang said that they might do so as soon as he gave them the order. Accordingly the elephant on which Muzaffar Jang was placed was brought near to a distance of 10 feet from that of Nāzīr Jang. Then Himmat Bahādūr Khān began to speak defiantly to Nāzīr Jang, and the latter ordered the guards to bring Muzaffar Jang near him and cut off his head. As soon as he said this and even before Muzaffar Jang's mahout could drive the elephant, Himmat Bahādūr cut off the head of Nāzīr Jang; and having fixed the head on a spear, came near the elephant of Muzaffar Jang, saluted him and offered his congratulations. When the guards posted behind Muzaffar Jang (with drawn swords to kill him) saw this, they dropped their swords and saluted him. Then Himmat Bahādūr Khān dismounted the guards and Muzaffar Jang from the elephant, placed the latter on the elephant of Nāzīr Jang and informed the people that he (Muzaffar) had been hailed as Nawāb. Though the flag of white silk having in the middle a human face with a halo of golden foils resembling the rays of the sun, which was sent from here as our emblem, was hoisted on a tall elephant, we went on firing our guns. Meanwhile, a certain person belonging to Muzaffar Jang, who was one of the Pathān followers of Himmat Bahādūr Khān came to us and said "Nāzīr Jang was stabbed, his head mounted on a spear was held aloft; Muzaffar Jang was placed on the elephant of Nāzīr Jang and hailed as Nawāb. Don't you hear the large victorious kettle drum being beaten in token of having won the battle? You need not fire your pistols and guns hereafter, and you have been asked to take guard of the camp of Nāzīr Jang, the treasury and the camp close by." Accordingly, we were keeping watch around the tent of Nāzīr Jang and that containing the treasury.

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After they had finished congratulating Muzaffar Jang, M. Law, La Touche, and the rest of us went and tendered our congratulations. How many times did Muzaffar Jang hug each of us to his bosom! and how very glad he felt is more than we can say; while the honour done to us by the Pathān followers of Himmat Bahādūr Khān is even more than that.

III

*Prajotpatti, Ani 20, Wednesday, 1751 A.D. June 30th.*⁴

This morning the Governor sent for me and asked me about the procession from Pāpayya Pillai's house. I said it would start to-day. It seems the Chettis said that the procession should not enter their street; he asked if they were entitled to take the procession through all streets. I replied that in places like Madras, Poonamalle and Conjeevaram processions are generally taken everywhere. He asked if there was no local precedent. I said that till then there had been none prominent among the Kanakkar and that as most of them were men of very slender means, there was none who took any keen interest in this question. Thereupon he said that Nainār was a bad man, that he had accepted something or other from the Chettis, and created trouble by egging them to make impossible demands. I replied that such a thing was unlikely in his case; I added that he was generally on the side of Pāpayya Pillai and was not likely to be the source of any trouble. However the *polegar* had orders to come and report then and there all occurrences in the city; as it was his duty to post himself with all such things, and as he would be taken to task, if anything untoward happened after the procession started, he went and gave prior information to Pāpayya Pillai. Then the Governor said: "It is seven months since Pāpayya Pillai got the palanquin; till now he has often ridden on it in the Chetti street, and how is it no one said anything about it? He might ride (a palanquin), his son might ride a horse; but his daughter and son-in-law may not enter the street on a palanquin. How can such a thing be said?" (Having said so,) he sent for Nainār. When he came, the Governor evinced great anger and ordered him to go to

Pāpayya Pillai's house, take part in the procession and see that it went off all right; if any Chettis came and caused any disturbance, they were to be shot at with double-barrelled guns. With these orders he dismissed Nainār and he went away.

Hasan-ud-dīn Khān wrote to the Governor asking permission to send a force against Munwar Khān, the younger brother of Himmat Bahādūr Khān, who, with the aid of the Cuddapah people, had come again to capture the Kandanur fort; accordingly he wrote to Hasan-ud-din Khān asking him to send a squad of 200 infantry and 300 riflemen.

Prajotpatti, Āni 22, Friday, 1751 A.D. July 2.⁵

This morning a letter was received from Nārayaṇa Śāstri, the son of Īśvarayyan. It said: "On the noon of the 19th, the forces of Chandā Sāhib encamped near Vālikoṇḍāpuram attacked the English troops in their camp beyond that place, and came back; the English troops thereupon, intending to attack Mu'tabar Khān, son of Husain Saheb, in Ranjanguḍi fired 200 shots from *caronade-rayé* into the fort, cannonaded the place heavily, and attacked it also with guns; the garrison of the Ranjanguḍi fort employed in its defence the guns and cannon in the fort; many in the English forces were either killed or wounded, and unable to sustain the attack, they had to retreat, with a loss of 40 men including the leader (of the attack) Mr. Gingsens (?)⁶; they broke up camp and fled on the road to Cuddalore. The news was communicated the same night to Chandā Sāhib by Mu'tabar Khān who sent him his *vakil*; the next morning, 20th Wednesday, Chandā Sāhib and his force came and occupied the former English camp." So much for the contents of the letter.

Further I said that Narasinga Dās, the son of the elder brother of Bhavāni Dās, had come to my village with troops and presents from the Rāja of Mysore, and added that I would find an auspicious time for meeting him and let him know about it in due course.

5. Vol. viii, p. 19.

6. 'Mestar Sinsiri' is the original.

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Prajotpatti, Āni 23, Saturday, 1751, July 3.

The Governor rose at 9 a.m.; when I went and saw him he asked me how many of the English are reported to be dead. As they attempted an escalade after firing *caronade-rayé* within the fort, and as Mu'tabar Khān Sāhib at the head of the garrison attacked them incessantly with guns and in other ways about ninety English soldiers fell; two officials also died in addition. I also said that they never maintained any account of the Eurasian,⁷ Muslim and Carnatic sepoys and they had no idea of the number of wounded. He said that even higher figures are reported. I replied that my information was based on Mu'tabar Khān's letter, and that I would tell him more news as it came to me. The messenger who came said that some ammunition had been captured also. When I said that we shall learn things more clearly hereafter, the Governor said: "There is none among the Muslims equal in courage to Husain Sāhib's son, Mu'tabar Khān Bahādūr who carried on the defence without fear of the white men and their bombs." (I said) "True indeed, Mu'tabar Khān is a strong man of courage and honour; yet his virtues could shine only if he chose his allies properly; for instance, this same Mu'tabar Khān with Nāzīr Jang (gap in ms.).

I heard news that Qutb-ud-dīn Khān came at 5 p.m. to-day. Then at 6, Qutb-ud-dīn went to the Governor's house. The Governor, his wife, Qutb-ud-dīn and Madanānda Pandit were talking together till 8 p.m.; Qutb-ud-dīn also got a letter in reply to the one he had brought from Chanda Sahib, and then went to Chanda Sahib's house after promising to go to Chanda Sahib himself the next morning. The urgency of his arrival and the quickness of his departure were alike significant; but as I did not know what it was all about I wrote what struck me: it appears that M. d'Auteuil and the officials meant some mischief against Chanda Sahib; because they always hesitate to engage the enemy whenever any one offers to do so; even though they have 7000 to 8000 mounted sowars and sepoys besides six or seven thousand *stater*, and the enemy are encamped in some strength at a distance of only four *nāligais*, they remain idle without fighting and put off all suggestions made to them

7. *Śaṭṭaikkārar* in the original.

for an attack; all this, they must have written, raised a doubt if they intend to betray us. I do not know what else might have been written (by Chandā Sāhib). Thereupon the Governor wrote to M. d'Auteuil asking that he might come away with our forces; after which things were explained to the governor and he was persuaded to write again asking M. d'Auteuil and others to stay where they were, fight the enemy and secure victory. The governor, however, showed clearly that he was very angry with Chandā Sāhib and spoke out all he had against him; finally he asked M. d'Auteuil to stay there after coming to an agreement with Qutb-ud-dīn that even Chandā Sāhib's cavalry was to take orders not from Chandā Sāhib but from M. d'Auteuil and wrote accordingly to d'Auteuil. Learning that the lakh of rupees sent before had all of it been spent and that money was required at once, the Governor sent for Pāpayya Pillai's son and ordered him to hand over to Qutb-ud-dīn whatever was available, and further to remit to Chandā Sāhib all monies received from Europe. He also wrote authorizing Chandā Sāhib to supervise revenue affairs and make collections himself from time to time, and gave detailed instructions regarding all matters to Qutb-ud-dīn before sending him back. All this I heard.

Prajotpatti, Anī 26, Tuesday, 1751, July 6.⁸

This day.....presents were received from the Mysore Rāja. Śrī Ranga Dās came to my house. I said that the presents must be received with honour. While the Second, M. Saint Paul and others are being sent to meet the bearers of presents from Salabat Jang and receive them with honour, and twenty-one salutes are fired at the fort gate when they enter it, he has been asking me for the last seven months whether others are shown similar honours. I said: 'True, but the Mysore Rāja is not like any others; he is a big man; the councillors must be sent with some display to meet his men and receive them with honour and eleven salutes may be fired when they enter the house (meant for their stay)'. He said: 'Presents were received from Chandā Sāhib, the Rāja of Tanjore and others; we did not fire salutes or send deputations to receive

them outside the city; did they not come and make their presents quietly without any one knowing of it?'. When I said in reply: 'True, but this Rāja is unlike others, a real big ruler, and he must be duly honoured', he accepted the suggestion.

Prajotpatti, (Āni) 27, Wednesday, 1751, July 7.⁹

This morning I went to the Governor; met him for some time and then came to the arecanut godown. Yesterday's letters from Rāja Raghunātha Dās at the Khāna of Govardhana Dās and from Salabat Jang were received and replied to; I have recorded what I heard of it. The contents of letters of Ra(ghu)nātha Dās, Salabat Jang:—Ghāzi-ud-dīn Khān left Delhi and came five or six kos; the Pādshah sent for him again and stopped his journey saying that it was no proper time for him to go to Deccan. Then you sent a letter by Mansūr 'Alī Khān asking for a firman of protection for yourself; that will reach you. If in this matter Ghāzi-ud-dīn Khān starts a fight, our army with its artillery and other weapons is ready to offer battle. We have sent accounts from the death of (Nāzīr) Jang down to date for the amounts drawn by Muzaffar Jang in different-ways on account of his staff, and you will get all the details there; he claims not only the honours due to the sons of Padshahs, but those of the rulers themselves, and we are unable to rise up to his expectations in this regard; after setting forth all his extravagances, we sent a *hunḍi* drawn on Kāsidās Bukkanji's shop to Masulipatam for 16½ lakhs including the amounts he borrowed with the permission of the governor, and the presents he gave to the Governor and his wife. The amount of the *hunḍi* will be realised by the Chief of Masulipatam. Further the permit for a present to Delarche covers a lakh, and a *hunḍi* for that amount was also sent drawn in favour of the Chief of Masulipatam, and you might have heard that these were received all right there. The accounts may be posted up accordingly. The payments to Messrs Kerjean, Vincens and others and to the staff, and the presents will be accounted for later. The letter contained these details and other general matters; in reply to this he caused a stiff letter to be sent

9. Vol. viii, p. 19, to go at the beginning of the day which begins with 7 p.m. as it stands.

saying:¹⁰ 'Where was the need to pay a lakh of rupees to M. Delarche? Have you derived any benefits from him? If you pay a lakh now to a man who carried messages from me to you and from you to me, and further give him presents and cash to the tune of three lakhs of rupees and a jagir of the value of fifty or sixty thousand rupees, what should you pay to me for having established you (in power), and again, what should you pay to those who fought and won a victory for you? You have been very puerile". He also ordered that M. Bussy was to take charge of all the forces of Muzaffar Khān,¹¹ and send him under guard to Masulipatam. Then he wrote replies to everything contained in his letter, and corresponding letters to M. Bussy and others, sealed them, and sent them by the servant of Govardhana Dās this evening. I have recorded the gist of the letter as also what I heard.

*Prajotpatti, Ādi 23, Wednesday, 1751, August 4.*¹²

I heard this morning that Muhammad 'Ali Khān's men brought a confidential letter last night from Trichinopoly. The letter was to the effect that he was ready to surrender the fort to our M. d'Auteuil if we would conform to the terms of the *parawana* which we got from Salabat Jang and sent to him some time before; this should be accepted in accordance with the *parwana* written by Salabat Jang, as the end of the exercise by him of powers that had originally been held and exercised by his father and his elder brother; if in accordance with what he had written he left for the subahs of Rajahmundry and Chicacole with the family, escort and movables he should be free from all obstacles; in fact everything mentioned in that *cowle* should now be faithfully acted on, and if he got letters of credence from us to that effect, he shall surrender the fort accordingly. If we ask him why he did not leave this place as soon as the *cowle* of Salabat Jang was received, he is not a free agent to be able to surrender the fort then and there and start

10. The true explanation of Dupleix's action is here—*contra* Dodwell's n. 2 p. 20.

11. *Alias* Shaik 'Abd-ul-rahmān.

12. Vol. viii, p. 28.

at once; he had handed everything into the hands of the English, and there was imminent danger of risk to his person if he did not act as they directed; and so he did what they told him to do, and did not act of his free will. Even now, if the English got the slightest suspicion of his having written to us in this sense, he should be a dead man. Our reply to this must be sent to M. d'Auteuil with instructions for its reaching him in a very secret manner, and for conversations being started for his surrendering the fort and for d'Auteuil taking it over.

After learning that frequent exchanges were taking place with M. d'Auteuil encamped on the mound, every suitable occasion for such messages and despatch of documents being availed of, the reply to this letter was drafted; then Delarche was sent for, and he was got to translate it into Persian to Madanānda Pandit who wrote the letter. It was sent at 12 o'clock. The reply was that we shall act according to the old *cowle* of Salabat Jang; that he (Mhd. 'Ali) was free to come to Pondicherry if he liked and then go away; if it was difficult to get our men in and surrender the fort to them, then he might fly a white flag and the French proclaim that they had stormed the fort, then the English would be unable to meddle, and so on, in a generally hopeful and friendly strain. Moreover a *cowle* drafted in the name of Madame Dupleix was sent along with this to Muhammad 'Ali Khān. M. d'Auteuil was also addressed separately and told of Muhammad 'Ali's request for a *cowle* and of the plan that was to be followed in accordance with the reply that had been sent. All this I heard.

¹³Hence no one can be compared to this Governor in his good luck. But in spite of such fine prospects of success everything failed to fructify and turned out futile, because he was not given the support needed for the success of his policy. But if white men who had been strangers to a single rupee come by four or six lakhs, how much can he not accumulate who is the master of all this? Why should I write anything? The discerning will know.

13. The paragraph following sounds like a later reflection added after some time.

Prajotpatti, Āḍi 25, Friday, 1751 August 6.¹⁴

This morning when I went and saw the Governor after he had got up at ten o'clock, Madanānda Pandit came and told him that a *cowle* should be drawn up in the name of Dhanapāla Chetti authorising merchants to migrate with their packages to the place where Nāzīr Jang died and where they are erecting M. Dupleix-pēṭṭai. Just as the governor signed the *cowle* regarding the remission of half toll and so on at Lālāpēt and ordered it to be sealed, he now went inside, and wrote on paper a draft in French stating that the place where M. Dupleix-pēṭṭai stood was the spot where M. La Touche, the captain of the forces sent by M. Dupleix, killed Nāzīr Jang and gained victory; he brought the draft and read it out to me; he then sent for Madame who was inside and read it out to her also. She said that the Brahmin has suggested a name, and that it should be adopted. Then the Governor sent for Madanānda Pandit, and he came and said that the place should be called: M. Dupleix-fatteh-abad. To which I said: "Persian *abad* is the same as Tamil Pēṭṭai, applied to new settlements; now, Sādat-ul-lah Khān caused Fatteh-pēṭṭai to be constructed near Gingee on the spot where he killed Desing; therefore we may call the place Dupleix-vijaya-pēṭṭai in Tamil or M. Dupleix-fatteh-pēṭṭai." Finally the Governor decided for the Persian form Dupleix-Fatteh-abad, and said that it should be adopted both in writing and speech, and I approved of it. Thereupon he changed the name in his French draft accordingly, and gave it to Madanānda Pandit, and asked him to take it to M. Delarche for being translated into Persian, as also into Telugu, Tamil, Marāthi and Gujarāti. Then he asked M. Abeille to prepare a plan for a tower-like structure to be erected in the centre of the pēṭṭah which was to carry the three fleurs-de-lis of the king of France, the seal of the company below it, and his own seal lower down; while in the square part still lower granite slabs should be built in, containing the record of the glorious victory in six languages. He also wanted a large fleur-de-lis above this level. After all this talk I came home by way of the arecanut godown.

Prajotpatti Avaṇi 36 Sunday 1751 September 12.¹⁵

This morning Dupleix wrote as follows with a view to put up inscription at the place called Dupleix Fattehabad where Nāzīr Jang was cut down by Himmat Bahādūr-khān:—"On Decr. 16, 1750 corresponding to Pramodūta, Mārgaḷi 5, 35 years after the accession of Louis XV, and 3 years after the accession of Ahmad Shah, Prévost de La Touche, the sardar of French army, acting under orders of Dupleix, killed Nāzīr Jang, and he fell" This must be written on stone in order that the people may know the place (of the occurrence)¹⁵ This must be engraved on stone in French, in Tamil, Telugu, Persian, Gujarāṭi and Marāṭhi, in 6 different scripts. With this object, the French version was written on paper and given to M. Abeille and he was asked to prepare the draft in the other scripts.

Prajotpatti, Purattāsi 2, Wednesday, 1751, September 15.¹⁷

When I went to the Fort this morning, I inspected nineteen bundles handed over for washing, and went to the Governor's house to tell him of it, and when I returned I heard that a *sarpēch* at a cost of Rs. 150 was required for honouring the son of the king of Old Gingee, and I got one down as required. Then the son of the king of Old Gingee with a view to regain for himself the fort and Jagir of Dēsūr, presented a sum of Rs. 40,000 to the Governor, five thousand to Madame together with a village, and some money to Kēsava Rāo; and having thus regained his old rights to the fort and jagir, he got the *sarpēch* and took his leave.¹⁸

15. Vol. viii, p. 55, to go at the beginning of the entry for the day.

16. Selon un relation anonyme, l'inscription etait: "Cette ville nommée Dupleix—fathébad, a été fondé á l'endroit ou les Français Commandés par M. Prévost de le Touche vainquirent l'armée de Nāsīr Jang et où il a été tue. Cet monument eut lieu le 16 December 1750, dans la 36e année du règne de Louis xv, et la 3e année de Amad Shah sous le gouvernement de Monsieur Joseph François Dupleix dans le 9e année de son gouvernement.—Note by M. G. Jouveau-Dubreuil.

17. Vol. viii, p. 60, to go at the beginning of the entry for the day.

18. See Vol. viii, p. 53 for an earlier mention of these transactions.

Prajotpatti, Puraṭṭāṣi 3, Thursday, 1751, September 16.¹⁹

This morning, sixty to seventy Europeans, and 300 others including Eurasians, Muslims and sepoys were asked to go with four pieces of cannon and camp near Soranāvūr, and Commander Raven and Captain M. De Souse (?) were required to go to the camp (with the troops), and they got ready and started.

I reported to the Governor what news I had and came by way of the Chief Court.

I got news that Rangō Pandit who had camped near Vriddhā-chalam had fled from there and reached Venkaṭammālpeṭṭai.

At Fort St. David, the paṇḍārāms of Vēttavalam, Gopal Nārāyana Ayyan and others gave two yards of broadcloth each as presents to the English governor, and requested him to capture Tiruvadi, Bhuvanagiri and the rest of the Panch-mahals with the aid of some sepoys; the news of their departure with this design was brought to Madame Dupleix by Kēśava Rao; I guessed that this must have been the reason for the disposition of the Europeans and sepoys mentioned above, viz., their being asked to go and encamp near Soranāvūr.

Last evening, Vīrama Rājā of Covelong left his representative Kondu Rājā behind, and went to Covelong.

Prajotpatti, Puraṭṭāṣi 18, Friday, 1751, October 1.²⁰

This morning I heard that Sāmā Rāo, the vakil of Peshwa Bhāji Rāo, who had left for Tirupati, could not complete his journey but was staying at Arni. The reason was that when Vāsudeva Āchariyar was administering Tirupati, Srinivasāchariār having sought the aid of the English proceeded to Tirupati and made himself master of the place; and consequently Rājagopāla Pandit who had left this place with a letter of authority over Tirupati could not go there, but had to stop short. News of this reached us this morning. Sāmā Rāo, the vakil of Bhāji Rāo, did not go to Tirupati, but came back to-day from Arni.

19. Vol. viii, p. 61.

20. Vol. viii, p. 67.

18 NEW PAGES FROM ANANDA RANGA PILLAI'S DIARY

I heard also to-day that there is a place called Kōviladi near Trichinopoly; M. Law fought in this place and captured it and put everyone there to death. But no letter has yet come from M. Law; I heard that the Nawāb sent us this news.

The substance of the letter in Marāthi from Tyāgayyan in the army: the victory of Kōviladi was won on Tuesday the 15th instant. Hasan-ud-dīn Khān went and fought for four days in the first instance; then M. Law went with 400 Europeans and gained the victory.

The Nawāb Sāhib stayed for four days at Śrīrangam, and then when he heard of the victory, he returned to the camp, and broke it up and began a march at an auspicious hour, and crossed the river.

Prajotpatti, Purattāsi 21, Monday, 1751 October 4.

When I returned after reporting the day's news, I heard that the English carrying provisions to Vriddhāchalam were intercepted by forces which killed two persons among them including an official, and wounded some thirty or forty; the rest dispersed pell-mell; a book and other articles belonging to the dead officer were brought and exhibited by Kēśava Rāo. When I said that this was a good thing they had done, he the (Governor) said: 'What a great shame has befallen the English!' I said: 'This is the time for their defeat and your success; hence it is but proper that when they raise their head, they suffer defeat and their fame suffers an eclipse and people begin to look down upon them. And their actions are suited to the time.' He said: "What you say is true". Then I came by way of the Chief Court.

Sabi Sayyid, the Amil of Chingleput, wrote to the Governor as follows: As Pāpayya Pillai often likes to leave Chingleput for Madhurantakam, and Madhurantakam for Utramallur, at the instance of Sampāti Rāo, the killedār of Chingleput, the Governor of Madras has spoken to Meister Pirens (?); and some sepoy and white soldiers have been invited with the English flag; and there is much movement of people and news indicating an attempt on their part to capture the entire division of Chingleput; the people here are in a state of fright, and the amildars are deserting. Moreover, a son of Vidiyasandu (Vijaya Singh?) living in Sadras got a letter from Sampāti Rāo asking him to occupy Tirukalukunram.

with the aid of some troops: he applied to the captain of Sadras for ammunition, and the Captain told him that he would have no concern with such things and would not give him any aid, and that if he was to engage in such activities he could not live in his city and sent him away. He is gathering troops. If you send me some assistance to counteract all this, and instruct Pāpayya Pillai by letter to stay with me, I shall manage things. I heard that in reply to this letter, messages were sent to Pāpayya Pillai and the polegars, asking them to join together and prevent the approach of enemies.

Prajotpatti, Purattāṣi 23, Wednesday, 1751, October 6.

At 6-30 a.m. to-day four letter-bearers came from Aurangabad; two of them brought letters to the Governor of this place from Salabat Jang, Ramadas Pandit and M. Bussy; the two others said that they brought letters to the governor of Fort St. David and to Muhammad 'Ali. I sent the messengers to the Governor.

The letters to the governor of Fort St. David and Muhammad 'Ali approved of the refusal to surrender Trichinopoly and the struggle maintained with the aid of the English, so as to prevent the consolidation of power (by the French); the subah of Deccan has been given to Ghāziud-dīn by a sanad of the Pādshāh, and Ghāzi-ud-dīn in his turn has given the subah of Karnataka and other places to Muhammad 'Ali Khān and written to the English requesting them to aid him. Copies of that parawana are published in every town and much mischief being done thereby. I also heard that everyone has received letters according to the form which they had prescribed beforehand.

To-day's news was that Muhi-ud-dīn Sāhib of Conjeevaram had driven out the Europeans and was free from the presence of the English. When they heard that a great fight was on at Arcot, the Englishmen at Conjeevaram left the place in a body for Arcot. Muhi-ud-dīn Sāhib who had just gone to the Musaravākkam fort heard of this and reentered Conjeevaram on the night of the 20th. Pāli Chetti brought this news yesterday.

For the whole of this year, the English realised thirty lakhs of rupees; twelve lakhs of this belonged to particular persons (?) subtracting this, eighteen lakhs went to the government house; of this,

sixteen lakhs have been spent, and two lakhs remain. Hence they have very little money, and they could not have spent much. The English thus have no funds; nor has Muhammad 'Ali Khān any. Hereafter they can employ troops and carry on the fight only if they command money. All this was stated by him (the Governor). I said: "As this is a bad period for them, the English will have no money. Further, they owe a crore of rupees in Bengal. They owe monies in England and in India. Hence they are not flourishing. And it is now the age of French power, this power is now in the ascendant, and is it not necessary that others like the English and the Dutch must decline and take back seats? That is exactly what is taking place". He made no answer, but simply listened in silence.

An English soldier, a captain, and a Eurasian came in a small boat from the factory at Porto Novo and brought a letter. The Eurasian said that this Englishman, having deserted from Fort St. David for the French factory, took a boat from there the same night and just came to Porto Novo: a letter from M. Delbaras (?) of the factory setting out these facts was produced by him. While reading it, he sent for Peralbe (?) and went to the central hall. I came away by the Chief Court.

To-day I heard that while Kēsava Rāo's man was taking a letter to Rangō Pandit, those from Fort St. David were ravaging and plundering Chennamanāyakkānpālayam. Tiruvaḍi simai, and even burning Bhuvanagiri-paṭṭanam-sīmai, Tirumuttam sīmai, and taking people into captivity. The messenger who carried the letter fell into their hands in the course of their marches, and was hanged. It is rumoured that this brigandage is the work of Gopālanārāyaṇanavvan, Śivanāku Reddi, Chandrasekhara Panditar, Viśvanātha Reddi of Bhuvanagiri and the Poligar of Vēṭṭavalam.

Prajotpatti, Purattāṣi 24, Thursday, 1751, October 7.

This day the Governor sent for me at 11-30 a.m.; after I gave him the news of the day, he said: 'You know that a vakil of the Rāja of Mysore has come; you may tell him that our French troops under M. Law as well as the army of Chandā Sāhib have crossed the Kāvēri; and camped near the Golden Rock, Tammatta maidān and other places, and surrounded the fort of Trichinopoly; if in this juncture, any force of the Rāja of Mysore aids Muhammad 'Ali

Khān and fights against our troops, we shall overrun the Mysore country besides capturing that fort; ask him to write home cautioning them to act in a farsighted manner'. I agreed to send for the vakil and get him to write in the sense indicated and then added: 'The Vakil says: "I am a merchant; you and they are old friends, and you have many complaints against them; they sent me to you with presents in order to secure for themselves the friendship of your victorious power. Accordingly I came and met you and placed in your hands the presents they sent by me and reported to you everything they wanted me to convey to you in the interests of friendship; henceforth, I have to go away when you send me back, and I am waiting for it. You have now told me twice or thrice that from English letters that have fallen in your hands you learn that my ruler is sending forces to help Muhammad 'Ali Khān, and wanted me to write saying that while they were friends with you, they might help you, or if they should not like it, they might remain neutral; if on the other hand they went and actively aided your foes you would capture the fort and the country. When I sent strict letters in this sense, they wrote back more than once pointing out that Chandā Sāhib was always speaking in open court of his proposed capture of their kingdom and making elaborate and slighting references to them, and you were indifferent to all this insult that he was offering them; he would not do such things without your consent; it was to draw your attention to this and secure that, at least in future, he did not talk ill of them that they sought your friendship and sent me as vakil with presents of cloths and so on to your presence. Politics depends on time and place, and no two periods are alike. We shall confine our forces to the limits of our territory; if Chandā Sāhib's forces come and cause trouble in our country, our forces would not remain quiet. I mentioned to you more than once that they wrote all this. You agreed that it was only proper that we should retaliate in case they meddled with us; and it was also proper that otherwise our troops were confined to our own territory. And I duly reported your answer to them. That being so, it is unlikely that they have done anything now without Chandā Sāhib provoking it. Moreover they are sovereign, and so are you; and you will determine your mutual relations as the times may require. What is there that can be done about this by men representing our government with you or your Government with ours? He.....

The thieves who were caught are to be hanged (at once); the Englishmen caught by our men earlier in that place are to be escorted by our company's servants up to Valkondapuram whence they should be allowed to go wherever they like—these were the instructions sent by letter.

Madame sent for M. d'Auteuil by means of a chopdar and he sent a reply stating that there was no reason why he should come and that he would not come; thereupon she fell foul of the chopdars and asked them to go once again and fetch d'Auteuil; when d'Auteuil came, Madame showed her anger towards him; when the Governor came to know of it, he restrained her and took d'Auteuil apart; I heard he is very angry at what had happened to M. d'Auteuil. On account of this, the plan of going to Mortāndi Chāvadi has been stopped; Kēśava Rao was sent for and the newly engaged sepoy were duly enrolled.

(Our troops said that) they heard that provisions were being sent from Covelong to Trichinopoly fort and we came to stop that; but the Rāja of Tanjore heard of the real purpose, and wrote about it to his vakil here, Sadāsiva Rāo, who communicated the matter to-day to the Governor and Madame; they asked in reply why the Tanjore men had not helped ours to which the vakil answered: it is only because we do not have the wherewithal to maintain a force; further as Vallam and Tirukkāṭṭupalli which had been so long with us have now been occupied by you, how can we help you? The Governor said finally that he would write to M. Law and find out. All this I heard.

He sent letters to Fort St. David by chopdars. Letters came from Conjeevaram stating that our men are in a strong position at Tiruvellore and that the English are strengthening theirs at Poonamallee. From Musāvākkam the killedār has sent by a jamedār some fruits and a letter stating that he had no money with him for current expenses. This sent the governor into a rage. The jamedār, who in the Arcot camp received naubat etc., has also sent a vakil of his to the Governor to tell him of his need for funds.

21. Undated fragment whose position in Ms. and contents show that it may be of Arpiśi 28, Prajotpatti=November 10, 1751, or less probably of Kārttigai 2=November 14.

V

I heard that he ordered guns to be taken from. and handed over (to them) and that these sepoy's so appointed numbered sixty.

*Prajotpatti, Arpiśi 29, Thursday, 1751, November 11.*²²

This morning the Governor wrote a letter himself and sent it to Covelong. At 8 a.m. there came a letter addressed to him from Covelong.

At ten a letter came from Arcot to the following effect: The (besieged) men in the fort resolved to send a man out every day by dropping him from the fort wall by means of a rope tied round his waist in order that he might go and bring news from Madras; they also resolved to send out another man by the wicket gate of the fort for the same purpose; these plans were communicated to our side by some people in the fort. When our men accordingly caught the two persons sent out of the fort and made enquiries of them, they said—(1) that the plan was to send out men every day like this to gather the news (2) that the provisions and drinks and so forth were exhausted in the fort, but without giving publicity to it, a brave show was made as if they were well stocked with provisions. The letter continued to say that these two men were kept under guard and that they were in urgent need of powder and shot (to be sent from here). Regarding this, he sent for the gun-maistry at once and ordered him to get ready powder and shot for despatch.

At 11 a.m. a letter came from Chandā Sāhib at Trichinopoly stating that he had no cash for current expenses. The Governor thereupon asked the harkars (messengers) if the amount ordered to be got from Kārikāl for expenses had not yet been received, and they replied in the negative. Further when he asked them about military situation, they said. "Those in the fort are firing guns, the shots fired by our side fall within the fort all right, the people of Seringapatam are sending provisions to the garrison in the fort, and the kallars of the locality obstruct all our attempts to surround the fort and stop the provisions from entering it."

From Aminabad, the wife and children of Himāyat Bahādūr, in the service of Candrasena, wrote to the Governor imploring him to write to Salabat Jang and persuade him to let them have for themselves the house in which they were living. To this he sent a vague answer by the bearers of the letter stating that he had written to Salabat Jang already on all matters and that this would result in good to them; he also gave a present of a rupee to each of the messengers.

In the afternoon at 2 o'clock the Governor visited the spot where blacksmiths and carpenters were at work, walked along the beach to the chāvadi where he ordered a verandah to be erected, and then came to the fort and sent for me. I went and conversed with him. When Rāmi Cheṭṭi came and asked the Governor whether the cloths inspected by him at the fort the previous day might be handed over for being washed, he ordered that it might be done.

Then he wrote two letters to Arcot and despatched them in the evening about 6 o'clock. Soon after, letters came from Trichinopoly at about 7; he wrote immediate replies, and before despatching them he expressed great displeasure with the messengers who brought the letters for their coming so late.

Fifty-six men had been appointed for going to Ālambarai; Kēsava Rāo, however, went and asked the sēvaikāran why there were only 50 men present and where the remaining were; he replied that they had gone for food. Then Kēsava Rāo, feeling that he had got no *douceur*, went to Madame (Dupleix) and reported to her that while orders had been given to keep fifty-six men ready, the Sēvaikār had got only fifty; then she mentioned it at once to the Governor who immediately sent for the watchman and ordered him to check the muster roll; the sēvaikāran sent for the six sepoy who had gone for their food and thus showed the correct muster of 56 men. After this, Madame and Governor after consultation, sent for Kēsava Rāo and scolded him saying: "Is it proper that you should tell a lie like this? While I had told you that the muster of the sepoy must be kept a secret, you have made it the talk of the bazaar. You are a fool without an iota of sense".

Later at 8 p.m. letters arrived from Arcot. The same messenger brought also letters addressed to the Governor from Conjeeveram.

When the Governor asked the messenger for news, he said: During the last two or three days our men are storming the fort vigorously and shooting in the direction of the powder magazine within it; the men in the fort are firing bombs which burst in the Nawab's camp and shots directed against magazines and throngs of people; a boy was hit one of these shots. Moreover, the besieged ridiculed the besiegers saying: 'It is a month since you came here; why could you not fight? Have you no moustaches on your faces? and no sense of shame?' Then in answer to an enquiry about news from Conjeeveram, they said: "Considerable fighting has gone on in Tiruvellore between the English and our men; you know that twenty were wounded on our side and we had to retreat with two pieces of cannon. Now 'Ali Khān has advanced against the English with some subordinates and put them to flight with considerable damage, capturing three of their guns. We heard also that the English are preparing to return to the charge. The letters from 'Ali Khān were taken by his vakil here to the Governor on a suitable occasion. He read the letters and then told him the facts mentioned above. So I heard. I also heard that after his meal, the Governor sent for 'Ali Khān's vakil and Madanānda Pandit; that Madanānda Pandit alone went as the vakil was not to be found; and that thereafter the Governor, Madame and he, all the three of them were closeted in the room inside and wrote letters to Razā Sāhib and M. Goupil, after issuing orders that no one was to be allowed inside and that the chobdars posted at the gate were to be instructed to say that the Governor had a headache and could not see any one.

I heard that the Governor asked Paraśurāma Pillai if everything was ready at the Morṭāṇḍi Chāvaḍi and that he replied in the affirmative. They also said that after reading the report to the wife of M. d'Auteuil they went to the Morṭāṇḍi Chāvaḍi. I also heard that Appu Mudali said that the Governor's journey could be considered settled only when the silver vessels were despatched from here.

Prajotpatti, Arpiśi 30, Friday, 1751, November 12.

This day they despatched letters to Trichinopoly between 8 and 10 a.m. in the morning. At twelve the vakil of Kaḍambaikkāran was sent for, given a present of two yards of broadcloth, and sent

back with a letter. At two p.m. the Governor went to the work spot where smiths and carpenters were working, took the measurements of some cannon there, and then sent for me. I went, and talking together we both went to the fort and inspected the first-floor; finding the Western side badly done, he sent for the maistry and took him to task. Then we started homeward, and he said that the Ennore report will be taken up to-morrow. To-day the cloths must be inspected in the fort.

A letter came to Madame from Conjeeveram at 8 p.m. Regarding our forces in Tiruvellore, I heard that the English were attempting to post some persons at Poonamalle. Some guards of European soldiers and ammunition were also reported to have been sent to Arcot. The European guards carried with them a letter which they were to read at Serndanur from which place they were to go in the direction mentioned in the letter; they took with them also the ammunition and a peon who knew the route. We had no important news from Arcot. Further I heard that Murtazā 'Ali Khān of Vellore and Razā Sāhib are encamped in tents, that unnoticed by them our men have surrounded their tents, and that Murtazā 'Ali Khān sent a secret message to the Marathas as the result of which the younger brother of Morari Rao is committing ravages in the region of Chengama. Orders have been received for the release of persons caught by the English at Ālambarai. As Sivarama Pandit of Tiruvattūr has got a sanad vesting that country in him, they seem to have sent a Brahman with a letter conferring an inam of two or three villages on Madanānda Pandit.

Prajotpatti, Kāritigai 1, Saturday, 1751, November 13.

This morning at 6 a.m. the Governor sent two letters to Trichinopoly. Letters came from Conjeevaram. We learned that some troops from there had gone to Tiruvellore. A letter has gone to Arcot. A letter also came to the Governor at ten from Trichinopoly. The bearer of that letter, when questioned, said that brisk fighting was going on there at the time. I heard that a letter was received from a friend of ours at Madras, and that the bearer of the letter stated that some boats came there with troops from Cuddalore and that the force was going to take part in the fighting at Tiruvellore.

In the afternoon the Governor went out for a walk along the beach and from there went to the Villiyanur gate and thence to the fort, where he got up the new first story and looked at the harbour of Fort St. David by means of binoculars and saw a sloop there. Then M. Moracin and the captain of the port came to the Governor, talked with him for some time and then went away.

I heard that Razā Sāhib and Murtazā 'Ali Khān have sent two letters. When the Governor ordered those letters to be handed over to Madanānda Pandit, I heard that he took them saying that they were his letters. The men that brought the letters reported as follows on Arcot affairs: "the shots fired by our side have caused a breach in the northern wall of the fort; as the ditch is full of water, our men have resolved to fill it up; our men are keeping up a steady fight and the besieged are also not only doing likewise but challenging us to a battle."

This day a letter was received from Mahé. The bearers of the letter said that, in the course of a war between the king of Quilon and our forces, two Brahmans on our side, Kuttikaran and Kōdanda-rāman, attacked the English troops one day and attempted to capture their fort; then the king of Quilon fearing for the death of the Brahmans ordered a retreat which was effected accordingly. The English then strengthened the fort further so as to render its capture more difficult than before. The ruler of Nāñjanāḍu is helping the king of Quilon secretly. All this was written in the letter and reported by the messengers; so I heard. The messengers from Mahé said further: Morāri Rao has come to Seringapatam; the Mysoreans gathered a thousand men and some provisions and sent them to Muhammad 'Ali Khan at Trichinopoly, and they reached the fort all right; and Morāri Rao has told the Mysoreans not to send provisions to the forces of Chandā Sāhib. I also heard that Morāri Rao has sent letters to the Governor.

Letters reached the Governor from Masulipatam. I also heard that bales of broadcloth are being despatched to Aurangabad, that three Poligars of that region together with 2,000 men, with the intent of attacking Ongole, had encamped near Valangampundi in the Bandar taluq at a distance of two leagues from Ongole, that the people of Pulicat and Madras have decided to go to the rescue of Ongole, and that letters going by Pulicat are being intercepted and examined. The Governor seems to have sent immediate replies

28 NEW PAGES FROM ANANDA RANGA PILLAI'S DIARY

to the letters received. I also heard that Madanānda Pandit and Chandā Sāhib²³ went upstairs and communicated news to the Governor.

Prajotpatti, Kartigai 3, Monday, 1751, November 15.

This morning, after returning from the Church, the Governor sent letters to Kārikāl, Covelong and Gingee. When the fifty men who had gone to Ālambarai from here were practising drill, they were practising with blank cartridges but one of them fired a bullet-cartridge by mistake and hit a sepoy fatally; the sepoy who was held responsible for the accident was kept in custody for a while, but as there was no clear evidence against him, he was released; all this I heard said.

In the camp at Trichi a European committed a breach, and this has been reported to the Governor, who has sent for him and ordered him to be kept in custody under M. Bury's charge; this also I heard.

Prajotpatti, Kārttigai, 4, Tuesday, 1751, November 16.

At 6 a.m., to-day the wife of Chandā Sāhib received six loads of sweets and fruits sent to her by Razā Ali Khān from Śāttugedi.²⁴ When these were being brought along the Mortāṇḍi chāvaḍi route, the Governor noticed them and asked the chopdars whence they came and where they were being taken, they made enquiries and brought him the information.

Letters reached the Governor from Arcot, and the messengers when asked about the happenings there said: "by the shots fired by our side the doors and walls of the fort suffer great damage, but the besieged are prompt in replacing the doors; a bomb fired by our men set fire to a hayrick which burned for over an hour and was then put out with water; it is also said that the besieged have suffered many losses in men, and in two or three days more, the ditch will be filled up and the fort captured by escalade." I was

23. This seems extremely improbable as Chandā Sāhib was at Trichinopoly. Perhaps there is some mistake here.

24. So the original, J. D. suggests 'probably Sāghar'.

told that after he heard this report the Governor was in high spirits. I also heard that he was told that the ruler of Vellore had left his army in the camp and gone to Vellore by himself, and that five of our wounded were coming here, and that he issued orders that the wounded were to be taken into the town without Madame coming to know of it.

Of two letters from Porto Novo, I took the one addressed to me and sent the other addressed to the Governor to him at Mortāṇḍi Chāvaḍi. He got letters from Trichinopoly to which he replied immediately. Letters were also received from Kārikāl, and despatched to Arcot. When a peon of the Company brought letters from Masulipatam and from Covelong, night came on as he reached this side of Kūḍaikattu Chāvaḍi, thieves set upon this peon and relieved him of the letters besides his bow, clothing and so on. I got information that the peon mentioned this occurrence to the Servaikāran and that he is keeping it a secret. A tent was ordered to be given to the son of Muhammad Akal and the son of Timirikāran at Mortāṇḍi Chāvaḍi; Khan Bahādūr and the Bandar men have also occupied tents. In the afternoon elephants were ordered to be brought to a *chamiana* where chairs and other seats were arranged, and the Governor and Madame were seated together with the vakil of Bhaji Rāo, the Bandar Muslims and other gentlemen of note. The mahouts came with the elephants and salaamed. When they were witnessing the feats, I heard that Madame spoke to the Bandar Muslims as follows: "How strong is the elephant, and how surprising that it should be controlled by men; man is the master of everything." I heard further that one of the elephants became uncontrollable and was ordered to be taken out when it began to attack the spectators. When the Governor asked Appu Mudali then and there how much rice was given as daily food for the elephants, he answered that eighteen measures by the big measure of Sambaiyar were given. From Trichinopoly Mali Chetti brought letters from Hasan-ud-dīn Khān to the Governor and Madame, and delivered them after presenting a nazar of twenty-one rupees to each of them. The Governor asked him to come again tomorrow. Then the Governor went for a game of ball beneath the tamarind tree on the northern side. He was playing chess with Madame till ten at night. Parasurāma Pillai came and informed him that ammunition had been sent to Arcot. Then everybody retired to their respective residences,

Prajotpatti, Kārttigai 5, Wednesday, 1751, November 17.

This morning the Governor received a letter from Arcot. The servant of the company who brought the letter said: "Our men have advanced to near the fort gate; the besieged are firing with guns and pistols and causing great damage." The Governor gave him the replies to the letters that had been received before and scolded him saying that he was getting news only once in four or five days; whereas previously when the rivers and canals were in floods he was hearing once in two or three days, now when there are no such obstacles, it should be possible for news being sent to him daily.

In the afternoon at meal time the Mussalman of the Bungalow sent bread and so on to the Governor who ate the meal with enjoyment and gave a present of ten rupees to the men who brought it. When the Governor and Madame sent fruits to the Mussalman of the Bungalow he also acknowledged it and gave a present of five rupees to the men who brought the fruits. Then Madanānda Pandit was sent for in the afternoon and asked to write out and send letters to Aurangabad with a reward of ten rupees to the men carrying them. The Governor also despatched an immediate reply to the letter he got from Ravattanallur from the son of Kade Sayyid. From Trichinopoly Hasan-ud-dīn Khān wrote to the Governor that he was short of funds. He wrote to Bomma Rāja. From Chandragiri the elder brother of Muhammad Akkal has written letters to the Governor, madame and Muhammad Akkal himself stating that the English and Vasudeva Āchāriyar have joined together at Tirupati for an expedition against the fort of Chandragiri, and that a (defence) staff should be appointed, and that this fort and some portions of the jagir country are being held by Bomma Rāja and other Poligars. Replies to those letters were sent at once. A letter was also sent to one of the abler Jamedars engaged in the fight round Arcot to whom a Naubat khāna was given recently.

When the Governor, Madame, the new missionary and some others, high and low, went out for a walk to Tiruccirrambalam, the Governor walked on the bank of a tank to the west of the chāvadi to a spot where a funeral was taking place. He made enquiries about the details of rituals and mentioned them to the missionary; he as well as the others present said that it was only proper that

people should follow their respective customs. All of them then returned to the chāvaḍi.

I heard that the Governor was playing at cards till late that night and that M. Delarche came to see him and went back after a talk with him.

Prajotpatti, Kārttigai 6, Thursday, 1751, November 18.

This morning the Governor sent letters to Arcot and Covelong. He sent also immediate replies to letters received from Trichinopoly. Bomma Rāja has written to him and Madame that he has heard that the English are moving to attack his camp. From Arcot Razā Sāhib has sent letters, by a camel messenger, to the effect that the fort would be captured in a day or two, but that he was short of the funds required for current expenditure. From Trichinopoly Chandā Sāhib has sent letters by Qutb-ud-dīn Khān. When the Governor, Qutb-ud-dīn Khān and Madanānda Pandit were engaged in reading both these sets of letters, the Governor said with great concern: "We have not got any money from Sīmāmūlam(?); how can we find the funds needed now? Well, let us see to-morrow." All this I heard.

Then men who came from Trichinopoly said: "Our men are encamped to the East and North of the fort; the provisions from Seringapatam are being taken into fort by the wicket gate on the west along planks laid across the ditch; when Chanda Sāhib enquired what that was, he got the answer that they were only taking some necessary purchases made from the merchandise of one of the merchants from their country and doing nothing else, and they were being made the subject of baseless calumnies; 2000 horse from Mysore have camped near the town of Karur Kangayam; M. Law is sending letters to Fort St. David and to the English sardars in Trichinopoly and duly receiving replies to them; Chandā Sāhib and Hasan-ud-dīn Khān seem to be betraying signs of mischief. Further, a wakil went to the Rāja of Tanjore from M. Law; the Rāja complained to the Wakil of the presence of our (French) troops at Vallam fort and asked him to write for their being recalled; the Wakil agreed in darbar to go to Vallam himself and arrange the withdrawal of the force; he then left the place and reached the camp at Trichinopoly. Some of Chandā Sāhib's forces have come to Tirukkāṭṭupalli; in fact, Vallam and Tirukkāṭṭupalli were both to be taken by our troops; for outward appearance, Negapatam....

*Prajotpatti, Kārttigai 16th, Sunday, 1751, November 28th.*²⁵

This day the Governor wrote letters asking M. Goupil and some Europeans from Arcot to come here with some troops and gave strict instructions to the messengers carrying these letters. In the afternoon he gave a reward of ten rupees to a juggler who performed before him. Madame and others returned from a walk. The Governor did not go out for a walk. Letters were received from Trichinopoly at 8 p.m. saying that 'Alam Khān had left some of the cavalry at the Madura fort and had come to the camp with the rest of the horse and some infantry, where he was received by M. Law. He wrote a reply at once and sent it off. The Turaiyūr vakīl came and met the Governor; he stated that amounts in excess of the usual peshcush were demanded by the Samasthānam, that the country was being looted, and that amounts already remitted in settlement of dues were again demanded; he came because of these troubles which were hard to bear and offered henceforth to remit the amounts to the governor himself. A lakh of rupees was the sum due on account of Ariyalūr, Uḍaiyarpalayam and Turaiyūr; as more was demanded for these places, an excess of one lakh was paid; these sums also might in future be remitted to the Governor himself. The Governor then instructed Madanānda Pandit to write a letter to Chandā Sāhib saying that the Muqadma amounts from Turaiyūr were being remitted here and that there was no need for his using any force in that country; if he looted the country, how could the people pay the ducs? Further I heard that Madanānda Pandit, Śāntappan and Śinnatambi Servaikāran spoke about me. Madanānda Pandit said: "Such matters must be settled by Mr. Pillai. Because of some difference between Madame and Mr. Pillai, he does not concern himself in this business. If he did, he would advance Rs. 30,000 from his own purse, and recoup himself later after telling the Governor from the amounts paid by us as peshcush. But am I so rich as to undertake such things?" Śāntappan said: "Madame is very thoughtful. If she had been born a man, she would rule a kingdom. We have not found any woman more thoughtful and courageous anywhere." The Governor sent for Vināyaka Pillai; and Śāntappan told Madananda Pandit: "Vināyaka Pillai has not

yet come" and added, "Does he recognise no master yet? he does not seem to understand the Governor's mind."

Prajotpatti, Kārttigai 17th, Monday, 1751, November 29th.

This morning M. Goupil and Razā Saheb wrote to the Governor as follows: As the English are proceeding against us with 3000 cavalry, and as (Major) Abdul Khadar is dead, and as the Governor has ordered our army to go to Vellore, we have abandoned the batteries of Arcot and gone to Vellore. Then the English forces that came and the Marathas entered the fort of Arcot with ammunition and provisions. This fact was set forth in a letter the English sent from Arcot to Fort St. David; the messengers with the letter were captured by our men near Tindivanam, and the Governor ordered the men to be imprisoned. All this I heard.

Prajotpatti, Kārttigai, 18th, Tuesday, 1751, November 30th.

To-day they have sent from Venkaṭāmpēṭṭai a white flag, five guns, two prisoners, a letter from Gingee and three Europeans who had gone there, besides some liquor, bread and other provisions all captured from the English, and a sum of rupees two thousand for expenses. From Vellore Razā Sāhib wrote as follows: Murāri Rāo's brother is sure to retreat within three days, and then we shall go and surround Arcot. Five letters were sent to Conjeeveram and one to Covelong. From Trichinopoly Chandā Sāhib, Hasan-ud-dīn Khān, and M. Law sent each a letter. They said that 'Alam Khān had come from Madura, and Chanda Sahib had honoured him with the present of three elephants, a horse and a *serpeau*. Another letter came from Tyāgayyar in Chanda Sahib's camp; it was to the effect that 'Alam Khān who came from Madura on the 13th of this month obtained an interview with Chandā Sāhib, that he presented a *nazar* of 101 mohars on the occasion, that he also visited M. Law, and that 1000 horse and 4000 foot had come along with him; some more poligars will be coming in the course of the day or the next; Hasan-ud-dīn Khān is preparing to go to Turaiyūr in two or three days; he also wrote that the nawāb had presented three elephants and a naubat to 'Alam Khān, and *serpeaus* to fifteen of his followers.

VI

Prajotpatti, Mārgali 23, Monday, 1752, Jan. 3.²⁶

The messengers from Tiruvattūr who brought the letters from Razā Sāhib to the Governor to-day said that they would stay there for the two or three festive days and then depart. From Utramallur Mohidīn Sāhib has sent a letter to the Governor. The men who brought the letters said: "The English stationed in Conjeeveram are looting the townships, and as Razā Sāhib and Mohidīn Sāhib have written, they are intent upon marching to this side from there. The Europeans who were with Razā Sāhib have returned as they had taken ill." Hassan-ud-dīn Khān has written to the Governor from Trichinopoly to the following effect:

"The Mahrathas had encamped in the region of Kaṭṭalai and Maṇavāśal; 2000 horse and some sepoy and Europeans from our army attacked them, and they fled; our forces then captured a place called Pudukkotta in the neighbourhood. Murāri Rāo also took part in the fight. As a strong fort fell into the hands of our troops, the Mahrathas had to retreat. Some losses were incurred in both the fights. While these fights were going on, the Marathas entered the Trichinopoly fort with a thousand horse and some provisions along the Maṇappākkam route. The next day the Marathas attacked our camp and made away with some cattle; thereupon some sepoy and European soldiers from the troops of 'Alam Khān and Hasan-ud-dīn Khān followed the Marathas and surrounded them; in the course of the fight that ensued, the cattle captured by the Marathas were scattered in different directions; some infantry issued from the fort and attacked our men; meanwhile an officer from Kārikāl on our side came up with some troops to the rescue of our men pressed on both sides, and the enemy were compelled to retreat into the fort. Hasan-ud-dīn Khān and 'Alam Khān are encamped near the Golden Mound (Golden Rock?). Major Cope and M. Law are receiving confidential communications asking them to be favourable to these men, and accordingly as soon as they came, these were favourable to the person known as Kuṭṭudāraṇ (?).

Moreover, M. Lease (?), second in command to M. Law, came here and saw the Governor; afterwards the Governor, Madame, the

Second M. Saint Paul and M. Lease (?) all the four of them were together in the central hall. Further when some of our men and a certain Lālā were at Tirukkoyilūr, the people of Vēṭṭaivalam came and made trouble; the men on our side were few, and so after a fight, they had to enter into negotiations and surrender the fort to the Vēṭṭaivalam men. and come out; then they sent word to the commander at Villupuram and after getting some reinforcements from there, they renewed the fight and regained the fort, putting its occupants to flight. The Vēṭṭaivalam people again appealed to the English to secure the fort for themselves, to which they replied that they had once got the fort into their hands, and that they could not do anything if the people, unable to keep it, lost the fort again, and once more applied for help; they added that they would require the sanction of their superiors, and wrote to Fort St. David on the subject. As a result, two pieces of cannon and some infantry were despatched from there; it was also said that as things were getting on favourably for us in Europe, more ammunition and forces must be collected. All this was reported by the Lālā who came from Tirukkoyilūr to the Governor who gave the Lālā a letter addressed to the European (in command) at Villupuram asking him to prepare some ammunition and reinforcements and send them along; I heard that the Lālā offered to take the letter the next morning.

When Pāpayya Pillai came to the Governor, he had a cold reception; Madanānda Pandit was behaving likewise. Appu Mudali and Pāpayya Pillai were engaged in close consultation. I heard that when Venkata Rāyar, the vakil of Pāpayya Pillai, came to Madanānda Pandit, the Pandit told him "Pāpayya Pillai is a man who as a rule seeks to catch hold of the tuft of another if he can, and falls at his feet when he fails, and he is paying the price of his policy."

A man describing himself as the vakil of Muhammad 'Ali attempted to go to Tanjore with his baggage from Jambukēśvaram where fighting was going on; our men heard of this and arranged to have the things captured and brought to us; the man reported the occurrence to Madanānda Pandit and asked that the things taken from him be restored to him.

After 12 noon the governor and Madame sent four Brahmins to Arcot, giving them ten rupees. Letters came from Aurangabad.

Prajotpatti, Mārgaḷi 24. Tuesday, 1752 A.D., January 4.

This morning letters reached the Governor from Masulipatam; I heard they were to the following effect: There is a fort in Koṇḍaviḍu country. A combined effort to capture the fort was made by some of our troops from Bandar, some troops belonging to the Muslims in that land, and Kōdanda Mudali, the nāṭṭān of the same country; the captain of the fort, Mallā Khā(n), lost his life, and now his younger brother is carrying on a vigorous fight, resulting in much loss to either side; the fort is not likely to fall.

To-day messengers came from Mahé. The news from there is as follows: The ship that left this place has passed Mahé; it is twenty days since a ship from Europe touched there and left for this place. In a war between the Malayālis and the English, the former won three forts, and are attempting to take two more. This is what the Brahmin messengers told the Governor. The two forts now in the occupation of the English are on the slopes of a mountain, and within the range of our guns erected on the mountain.

The lands of Elēsvaram, Pitalūr, and Sannadiyal have been occupied by our side; an army from Nilēsvaram has encamped on the banks of the Uppāttangarai near by, and ravaged their lands under our occupation; coming to know of this, our troops went and offered battle. There were losses on both sides. Some bags of pepper were sent from there; of these some were stolen on the way. The man who was sent at the head of the escort was at first suspected; but exonerated later. All this became clear from the letters.

Razā Sāhib and.....from Tiruvattūr.....

* * * *

²⁷He ordered the wound of the man who had lost his ear to be dressed and the man who had caused the injury to be taken into custody. Yesterday the son of Sayyed Muhammad of Tādpatri came to see the Governor; Muttu Mallā Redḍi also came. Last night at dinner, the custom was followed of making bread in the shape of the Ali Raja with a tamarind seed inside and placing it before prominent guests; Madame cut the bread and distributed it, and as the piece that was given to the Governor contained the tamarind seed, she was very pleased along with others. I heard

that Madanānda Pandit came to tell me this and other matters, but had to go away home without doing so as at the time I was busy writing letters together with the Europeans.

Prajotpatti, Mārgaḥi 26, Thursday, 1752, Jan 6.²⁸

Letters came to-day from the camp of the Rāja of Kārvēṭinagar from Gururāja who was there, and from Venkatāchala (Mudali), Madame's man who had gone there from here. Gururāja wrote to Madame: "We here are favourable to you; Ketima Rāja and Kēsava Rāja who are our coparceners have raised two rival camps to us; if we are united in this juncture others will be afraid of us; hence you should send some men to our aid." He has also written another letter to Appu Mudali in the same strain and asked him to do everything with the approval of Madame. The letter from Venkatachala Mudali also conveyed the same details. It was also suggested that when the coparceners are thus opposed to one another Rāmappa Rāja might be sent for. All this is what I heard.

Three or four letters came to the Governor from Conjeeveram. When he asked the men who brought the letters whether the camp had passed beyond Conjeeveram, they said: "The sepoy and Jamedars refused to move till their arrears of pay were paid in full, and an altercation ensued between them and Razā Sāhib; then Brenier made peace between them and said that money would be got from Pondicherry and their pay disbursed duly, and that as the Governor had ordered a rapid advance, he would be roused to anger if they did not carry out his orders; then they agreed to make a move in two or three days. Moreover, some broken guns were brought by sepoy from Conjeeveram and they had still sent no fresh guns to replace these.

When Kasturi Ranga Aiyar told the Governor and Madame that the men from Turaiyur must be treated with special consideration, arrangements were made for this being done. The Marathas have ravaged the Turaiyur country; and the people of Turaiyur have written to the Governor that they had captured some of the Maratha horse by way of reprisals; they have also sent him a peacock and a parrot (as presents).

After 1 p.m., Pāpayya Pillai was asked to fetch the accounts, and the Governor and Madame were discussing the accounts with him behind closed doors till 3 p.m., and then Madanānda Pandit was sent for. Meanwhile the Governor noticed a sloop coming from a distance on the sea, and going upstairs, he observed it through a telescope. When he came down, Madanānda Pandit secured interviews with the Governor and Madame for the elder and younger brothers of the Sastryar who had come from Gingee as the representatives of Rāmadas Pandit, and whom he had taken to the Governor's house; the two men were presented with eight yards of broadcloth, and a purse each, and on the elder Sastryar was conferred the privilege of riding a palanquin.

'Alam Khān's vakil got a present of two yards of broadcloth; then he was sent away with a letter and a message to his master to be careful and vigilant in all affairs.

The writer was put under guard, brought out again and given twelve strokes and admonished to be careful in future.

Prajotpatti, Mārgaḷi 27, Friday, 1752 January 7.

A letter came to the Governor to-day from Hasan-ud-dīn Khān at the camp in Trichinopoly. The messengers who brought the letter said: "We have heard that Murāri Rao together with some troops under his command has made room for himself in the districts of Karur and Kangaiyam on the borders of Mysore, and is preparing to attack the forts which are not strongly guarded by us. Some forces have occupied the region of the Golden Rock with a view to attack our camp; they are firing from the fort walls. Our men are firing shots and bombs from the batteries, and these fall in all directions inside the fort. The sentinels in the fort opened the gates at night and asked the poor mendicants to clear out of the fort. It is long since any fresh provisions reached the fort." All this they reported. The Governor asked: "M. Lease (?) went from here to the camp. Where did you meet him?" They answered that they met him near Vālikonḍapuram.

Letters came from Conjeeveram, and in answer to an enquiry from the Governor, the messengers who brought the letters said that Razā Sāhib's camp had moved beyond Conjeeveram. When he asked them again about Chinnatambi Servaikāran and his arri-

val with some baggage, they said that he had come, adding further that they had met near Ālambarai some sepoy together with some of the things sent.

Tirumala Rāo *alias* Rāmachandra Rāo, the vakil of Yācama Nāyakkar, was sent for by the Governor and asked what had become of the forces which he said were on their way even when (he was) at Arcot, to which he replied: "Yes, our forces did come; but as the Marathas made trouble when Raza Sahib was on his way to Vellore, our forces encamped at Pallipat, and went back as the result of differences that arose between us and them." The Governor then told him the details reported by Guruva Rāja viz., that they had sent messengers both to us (the French) and to Sampāti Rāo and that they were playing a double game; to which the vakil replied by expressing his readiness to give a written undertaking saying that they had only waited upon the French and never sent any one to the other camp. The Governor finally asked him to adopt a definite plan after careful enquiry.

Kuṭṭi Karan, the Brahmin of Singari-kōvil, who had gone to Cuddalore as Madame's man, has written that our forces have gone to Madras, and that some troops have been sent to Madras in a sloop from here. He has also written that some aid is being sent to Vriddhāchalam. The six and a half (thousand ?) rupees of Aparan Chettiyar was handed over to Mudiya Vināyaka Pillai for meeting expenses in the fort.

Prajotpatti, Mārgaḷi 29, Sunday, 1752, January 9.

A letter came to-day from Hasan-ud-din Khān at Trichinopoly; as also the tappals. From there Arulappa Servaikaran has stated everything in detail to Santappa Servaikaran who is here: Tappals are being delayed because our sepoy while on the road catch the messengers by force for no reason; the sepoy must therefore be given strict orders. Also in the neighbourhood of Valikondapuram, the tappal-carriers are set upon by robbers and suffer injuries from them.

Prajotpatti, Mārgaḷi 30, Monday, 1752 January 10.

Letters reached the Governor today from Trichinopoly, Turaiyur and Conjeevaram. We have entered to-day presents received

for the January (New Year) festival by the Governor and Madame from Khoja Kalat Khān and Avalasiya (?) Sāhib, old merchants of the company, Kodandarāma Pandit, Muttu Malla Reddi, the Tanjore vakil Sāmbaśiva Rāo and others. Sloops were sent to Masulipatam and troops were sent also by land. This must be carefully noted.

VII

Dhātu, Ādi 9, Tuesday, 1756 July 20th.²⁹

The deed of agreement given by Gopala Narayanappayyar to M. Dupleix was in the possession of Sunka Seshachala Chetti; to-day we got it from him after giving him a deed of his in our possession viz., the deed executed by him for 2000 pagodas in favour of M. Veque; Gopalaswamiyar and Kārikāl Seshayyengar were present when this happened. Monegar Guruvappa Chetti came, and we informed him of this. He replied that he was not on talking terms with him (Seshachala Chetti) and that he had no interest in it.

VIII

Rudhirodgāri, Mārgaḷi 26, 1744, January 6th.

Details of machlis on the route from Macchlibandar to Golconda are as follows:

Dhātu, Ādi 21, Sunday 1756, August 1st.³⁰

1. From Bandar to Gūdūr,—Kos 2, part of Sarkar Mustif-nagar.
1. Devarakkōṭṭai pargana Nidumolu,—Kos 2. The Zamin-dār is Iralghaṭṭa Kōdaṇḍarāman.
1. Vinukotta pargana Bābiru—4, Zamindar Enukaṭṭi Paṭṭā-bhirāman.
1. Medur Pargana, from Dananga Mochchaḍamir to Uppūr,
Kos 4. Zamindar Appa Rao Avl

29. Vol. x. p. 150; to go at end of entry for the day.

30. This date would be at p. 159 of Vol. X.

1. Bezwada pargana, Kangipāḍu, Kos 3. Zamindar Kaḷava Kollikāran. Full fort.
1. Indranilādri on the hill to the north of the Krishna river and south of the Bezwada machchili,—Kos. 5.
1. At the foot of the Pāṭṭaimalai, there is a strip of dark ground four yards³¹ broad and one kos long. Walking along it, you reach one near the darga of Kaliz Sahib, and it is part of the fort of Kondapalli,—Kos 2. Zamindar Kaḷava Kollikaran.
1.patnam Kos 4. Two kos separate this from the limits of the jurisdiction of the chief of the Kondapalli fort. The Zamindar of this place is a certain Venkata-pati Rao.
1. Crossing the pass near Killakonda you reach the village called Pāṭalai in Succhura pargana where there is a well yielding precious stones. Zamindar Kavalakollikaran.
1. From here the river Gibar is at a distance of three kos. Cross the river and you reach Nandigramam on the mountain pass. In the rainy season the river is in floods and one has to wait till the water subsides—Kos. 6. Zamindar Vāsi Redḍiyār.
1. From here to Muhammad-pettah built in the names of Mir Khān and Kongala-mallaiyar of Nawāb-petta,—8 kos. Its pargana is Menukambālu; Zamindar Vāsi Redḍiyār.
1. Do. across the river Menukambalu lies the pargana sarkar Kambamet of Kilakkur *alias* Maccili; this is under the control of the three persons, the Zamindar of Anantagiri, the Amarininikāra (?) and Gopalarāyan. This maccili has extensive forests. When Anwar-ud-din Khān went to Chicacole, the Chobdars marching in front of his palanquin were carried off by a tiger. Kos. 7.
1. From here to Sarkar Muzaffarnagar, part of the Munagala pargana, 6 Kos. Zamindar Raja of Munagala.
31. The text has two *nār* (chest) for which see Tamil Lexicon.

1. From here via Sarkar Vuṭṭuakoṇḍa Ramavaram to Surabuppetta—Kos. 6. Zamindar Kuradigi Ranganna avargal.
1. From there via Dekirāmaṭṭla across the river Musi to Sarkārellāmkoṇḍa Cetappalli—Kos. 4. Zamindar Reddi.
1. From there via Chittal to Sarkar Rachakondarāpalli, Kos. —Kos. 4. Zamindar Kēṭṭuvar.
1. From here via the towns of Avadi bāvallu and Kala pun-guru Pāmūl-Kūṇaḷu to Nārikeṇḍipalli, Kos. 8. Zamindar Maḍivāru. This is the limit of Nallakoṇḍa Taluq.
1. From there via Chittal to Sarkar Rachakondarāpalli, Kos. 6. Zamindar Narayana Reddi. The distance from the residence of Mansubedar (Mansabdar ?) to Golconda is five or six kāḍams.
1. From there to Malkapuram, Kos. 6; in going to this place you have to travel in the midst of a mountain.
1. From there you cross the channel that issues from Kalakaṇavay and take the Śingavaram route to Ayathnagar near the town called Ambārpēt, Kos. 6. Here is built the padshah mahal, which bears the flag called Tanahsari; it is an extensive place.
1. From there to the city of Golconda; to reach the eastern gate of the city, from the Sunday Chowki on the bund of the Mirajmal lake you go by the big bazaar and enter the darga to the west of Daru mahal, go over the bridge across the Musi river, and reach the Karuvan darwaza of the bazaar called Mustripuram; from the front of that darwaza you enter the gate of the fort Kos. 8. Thus 21 macclis in all making 65 kos.

IX

*Dhātu, Purattāśi 11, Thursday, 1756, September 23.*³²

Hyderabad news: Nawāb Salabat Jang is in Hyderabad with his army. M. Bussy and Salabat are on friendly terms as usual,

and things are going on smoothly between them. M. Bussy and others are putting up at Ghoshe mahal. It is rumoured that Salabat Jang is preparing to send Munawar Khān³³ with M. Bussy to secure the Carnatic. Secondly, Nawāb Salabat Jang is coming over here, and has written to Bhāji Rāo asking him to come also. It is said that he would come at the end of the Mahānavami celebrations. It would be good if Bhāji Rao comes; else the Nawāb Sāhib is wishing to come here. It is also said that M. Bussy might be sent alone. All this is news that came by letter.

Arcot news: You have removed Attumalla from office and appointed Sampāti Rāo as diwanagiri. Sampāti Rāo has gone to Madras with his wife. His brother Akumathrao is doing his work during his absence. It is learnt that Mohan Singh has also been dismissed and Coupland appointed in his place. You are aware that the Vellore Muqadma is being settled for about a year now; it seems that the matter has now been definitely settled through Asadullah.

X

Krishna's aid!

Three Memoranda

i. Memorandum.

Vikrama year, Purattāsi 25th, Tuesday, (October 7, 1760) noon; Kālatti Ammal and child went with M. Law to Talangambadi. (Tranquebar).

Arpiśi 1st—Annasami and others started on their journey.

Arpiśi 19th—Appāvu's journey.

Kārttigai 27th—Monday, evening. The English began firing on the redoubts in the cocoanut island (Tennandiṭṭu)³⁴ and in the Selan garden. That night, after fifteen nāligais (midnight) they began to fire at the redoubt in the cocoanut garden on the West, that at the Washerman's *turai* (washing place).

33. Younger brother of Himāyat Bahādūr Khān of Kandanūr, Vol. x, p. 193.

34. To the South of Pondicherry.

44 NEW PAGES FROM ANANDA RANGA PILLAI'S DIARY

Karttigai 30th (Fragmentary, paper mutilated).

(Margali ?) 21st Thursday (Fragmentary, paper mutilated)
.....storm.....all trees.....were thrown down and the whole town looked like a forest. Of the fourteen ships of the English that were anchored in the sea together with one sloop, four ships sank, three were driven ashore, four lost their masts and these damaged ships and the sloop disappeared somewhere.

23rd—At 6 a.m. Pillai Avargal left Kandappa Mudali's house and came home.

24th. Entry not clear.

28th—night. Razā Ali Khān embarked on a small boat.

Tai, 1st—Saturday (January 10, 1761)³⁵ morning. Firing of cannon and musketry began from the batteries in the garden of Ambalava Chetti.

Tai 3rd, January 12th, Monday. At 5 nāligais (8 a.m.) M.R.Ry.³⁶.....died.....sabhai pillai nayinar..... Appumudali's son Alaga..... (uncle's) son..... (gap of 11 lines paper mutilated). About 9 or 10 o'clock, cannon balls were being shot in large numbers from the battery in the sugar-cane grove on that side. Of those who were in town on that day, only those who have been mentioned above came home. When I told M. Leyrit of the death of Sāmi in the morning, he replied that such was God's will, and asked all of us to get away somehow this very day after the funeral. When the matter was reported to M. Lally, M. Lay (Leyrit?) and M. Ole (?), they showed much sympathy. Then M. Leyrit, thinking that it was a critical occasion, sent secretary M. Dulaurens and had the usual documents and accounts sealed. He came and reported his orders; we showed him all the places where the accounts were kept and got them sealed. Soṇācalam Pillai brought food for us. Sunku Seshachala.....who came to meet and talk with Pillai Avl. (gap of five lines) ... A European jumped over a wall, took the hookah utensils kept there, and ran away. While the things were being sent to the house of Shiswanis (?) a ball from the battery in the toddy godown fell near the parrot tower. Rāmachandra

35. Vol. xii, p. 402.

36. The name of Ananda Ranga Pillai must have followed here.

Aiyan, and Pappu Rayan of the tobacco factory did not turn up though they were in town. They sailed away in a boat by night.

2nd (4th?). I gave one rupee to each of the soldiers that came to cut down the cocoanut trees in my house and saw that with the aid of palm-fibre ropes in the house they cut the trees so as not to let them fall on the house and damage it.

5th. I went with the Nayinār to the Kīraittottam (crematorium) for the sañcayana (lit. collection of bones on the day after the funeral) and came back home after the obsequies. If in the presence of Col. Coote and Venkatachalayyan, Sōñāchalam Pillai gave a thousand rupees and got out, we undertook to complete everything in the evening with the aid of Mannappa Mudali. Asoka garden....planted....night 8 p.m....gave....hearing everything. he said: 'you should not stay any longer; we do not know what harm may result to you if you do so; hence you must go away by any means.'

I went and saw M. Lally and reported the death to him; he expressed much sympathy and said that there was nothing more to be done as such has been God's will. We said that we stayed because he wanted us to stay; or we should have gone away much earlier; but now it was very difficult to go. He replied: 'You need have no fear; we shall include you also in the terms of capitulation; you may go without any misgivings'. I also met M. Guillard and M. Boyelleau and got their sympathy. When I reported to them what happened at the Fort, they said it was no use trusting M. Lally.

6th. Thinking that I could put no faith in the words of such men, I met and talked to Mr. Verlée³⁷ in the presence of Nayinār; he said that the cost of the boat was Rs. 150 and the charge for its being taken to Tranquebar was Rs. 450; I agreed and paid Rs. 600 into Nayinār's hands. He got the money and said that only two sailors were in town, and sent word that he would fix up ten others along with them in the evening armed for any contingency. I too prepared for the journey, and handed over the houses, furniture and so on to M. Renault, gave some money for expenses, left a Hindu boy at home, and started with a bundle of the Diary (*dina śaritai*) and three or four swords and daggers. I sent M. Boyelleau in ad-

37. Jean Pierree Verlée, Capitaine de port—J. D.

vance and waited near the bastion to the south of customs gate for the moon to set; as it was the tenth day of the bright half of the month, I waited till twenty *nāligais*, and as soon as it became dark, ten of us armed with weapons, fifteen *matelots* and the two sailors got into the boat; when the boat was pushed into the water, it would not go beyond the length of two men, but was beaten back to the shore; the Europeans did their best to push it into water, but every time the boat came ashore, and this went on for two hours. Owing to the drunkenness of the Europeans and the proximity to the shore, much water got into the boat; the swords and daggers came out of their scabbards and fell down and obstructed the movements of people; in the tossings of the boat people fell one upon another, and all their clothes became drenched; *the bundle of the diary also became wet*: amidst these sufferings, the day was dawning, and the desperate attempts of the people to get out of the boat one after another defied all description in words. With wet clothes and limbs, we came to the custom-house near the shore, changed, and refreshed ourselves a little with the provisions we had taken with us, rinsed our mouth with sea water and rested a little. At 4 a.m. some light was seen at the gate of the custom house, and on a closer look, we found men getting away from the ditch after throwing gun powder into the water there. The same evening, the Padre of St. Paul's Church, Sesha Aiyar, M. Courtin and M. Dubois went to discuss terms of capitulation with the English. What will happen next is not known.

7th Friday. This morning when the gates were opened, we came back home. Last evening after suspension of hostilities the Father Superior of the St. Paul's Church, Subbarayar (?) M. Courtin, and M. Dubois went and stated the following terms to Mr. Col. Coote for the capitulation of the fortress. The *Soldats* have suffered greatly, hence they should not be imprisoned, but kept under light guard and fed properly and taken back to Europe in ships. M. Lally and other officials of Government must surrender their belongings. Moreover, some have long served without any pay; hence their belongings should not be taken as loot, and the Company's articles are to be captured without any harm being done to the Tamil population of the city or subjecting it to a general loot. The fort was not to be demolished but to be taken possession of subject to terms agreed on, and everything was to be subject to confirmation by authorities in Europe. The other side expressed a general

assent and promised to act up to M. Lally's wishes, and sent them back saying that they would meet M. Lally in due course. Thereupon, the deputation, I heard, returned to town in the morning. At 7-30 a.m. Mr. Col. Coote and two or three other gentlemen accompanied by fifty mounted guards and 100 soldiers came, and having posted the soldiers at the Villiyanūr gate, they entered inside with their horse. Then they posted the horseguards outside, entered the room of M. Lally within the Government House where he was lying lazily on a cot. Col. Coote took his seat on a chair that was near; both of them talked for a while and then came out, and approached M. Leyrit and other councillors who wearing swords were assembled in the silver plated council room. After mutual salutations, M. Leyrit first drew his sword and surrendered it into the hands of Col. Coote who took it and then restored it to its owner saying that he might keep it.

ii. Memorandum.

Year 1761—When told that we do not know what miracle it is, they did as they had said. Malaya Pillai, Arunachala Chetti and M. Boyelleau and Madame Boyelleau got letters from Europe which said: "The French captured 1300 ships belonging to the English last year; thus the French were weakened as a result of many fights, yet they reinforced themselves, defeated the English, and covered themselves with glory in Europe by capturing 900 ships this year, of which some have already been sold for sixty lakhs of rupees while the rest, along with those captured last year, are interned in ports. In the war waged by the English against the French this year, the former had the worst of it; twenty-eight warships belonging to them with twelve light craft, forty vessels in all are engaged in Mauritius by twenty-three French vessels under Captain M. (gap in the original) that carried ten thousand soldiers and the English are being prevented from effecting a landing. In the three ports in Mascareigne, Mauritius, and a place beyond it, there are 30,000 soldiers in all and there is an ample stock of provisions for these as well as the men on the ships. At Pondicherry neither the Governor M. Leyrit nor the General M. Lally would listen to what the councillors said, and these mutual differences were the cause that led to the loss of the city. At Mauritius on the other hand the Governor and the commander co-operate with the council and observe their instructions with the result that provisions are

ample and there is no risk of the loss of these places. The war will last till October, and then the ships will not stop there; ships will come to Pondicherry from January; till then for four months we shall have to suffer here and you there, and then by God's grace things will turn out well for you." All this they said. Moreover, the ship in which M. Bussy sailed was captured by the English at a distance of five kadams from an English port where its identity as a French vessel was discovered. An examination of the vessel revealed the presence of M. Bussy and of diamonds to the value of five lakhs of Pagodas of which a single diamond was worth a lakh by itself. Moreover, when two English vessels returned from their voyage laden with rich merchandise, a French vessel found them and gave them chase; but one of them escaped while the other was caught. As the vessel in which M. Bussy sailed, and one of the two vessels returning from their voyage had both been caught....
 . (Ms. Breaks off here).

iii. *Memorandum.*

Hail! Victory to Sri Rāma! To the General from the Assembly.

As the king is god for the protection of his subjects in the world, we make the following appeal to you; from the time of the foundation of Puducheri under M. Martin and other governors, as the people were treated with justice and consideration, the town was increasing in prosperity. Particularly when during M. Lenoir's administration, orders were received from Europe for the opening up of streets by the removal of obstructions, and instructions were issued for the demolition of the eastern part of the temple of Īśvara that was on the street, we assembled in large numbers and demanded that the temple should not be demolished, it was spared according to our wishes and confirmation of it obtained from Europe. The town extended North, West and South, and by the immigration of many people grew in each direction till the population outside the Fort was a quarter more than the population within. When there was famine, we used to import good grain from other lands in large quantities and we even sent it to the city of Arcot and other places and relieved distress. Trade and manufacture increased and gave employment to many; each man was fulfilling the duties of his station, and we were all happy in such wise that it might be said that there was no other place equal to this. In the days of M. Dumas injustice began to put forth its first shoots. Then in

M. Dupleix's regime, though great power and fame were achieved, we were not dealt with fairly. First when the English came and attacked Puducheri in 1748, we suffered greatly because the temple was destroyed with the aid of soldiers and our deity was uprooted and kicked about; the furniture in the temple was looted and its land converted into a garden for the Second, M. Saint Paul. Moreover, the houses of people who for fear of bombs or lack of means had left the town and returned to it were confiscated and unjustly sold in auction. Then M. Leyrit's administration was being carried on without any complaint; after the arrival of M. Lally, on the plea that the company had no money, the people were subjected to exactions by distraint and force; they were incarcerated, their houses were closed and utensils attached. . . . a gibbet was erected and people were strapped to posts and beaten; as a result of such injustice the jewels of women and children which had no market at the time were handed over to the mint for being melted and we had to borrow outside to meet the demands made; we suffered in all these ways. Then we were asked to pay once again, many being put in prison in the fort, confined with Europeans, and not allowed to go out for their meals for fourteen days; unable to bear such oppression, we sold our clothes and vessels and borrowed from many sources and paid up. We have the receipts of the Council to prove all this. Then a house tax was levied and we were asked to pay; we have paid on this account two thousand rupees and odd into the hands of M. Guillard and three thousand rupees and odd to M. Dubois, but got no receipt for this.

(Ms. breaks off).